

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 CCO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY NEA/INS:BW BROWN/DKUX:EI

APPROVED BY NEA:ALATHERTON, JR.

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TO USDEL LOS ANGELES IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS, TOSEC 32

TAGS:OVIP(KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: BRIEFING MEMORANDUM: MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR-  
DESIGNATE SAXBE - JANUARY 27 - 3:00 P.M.

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM ATHERTON

1. CHECKLIST. AMBASSADOR SAXBE WOULD LIKE YOUR GUIDANCE  
ON SEVERAL MAJOR ISSUES:

-- BASIC THRUST OF INDO-U.S. RELATIONS - WE WANT TO  
MAINTAIN A REASONABLE PLATEAU, WITHOUT PEAKS OR VALLEYS.  
DO NOT WANT LEAVE FIELD FREE FOR SOVIETS, BUT RECOGNIZE  
LIMITATIONS IN HOW FAR WE CAN GO WITH MRS. GANDHI.

-- ARMS POLICY - SHOULD THERE BE A CHANGE, IT SHOULD  
NOT BE SEEN AS REPRESENTING A SHIFT IN U.S. SOUTH ASIAN  
POLICY. WE SEE INDIA AS THE PREEMINENT REGIONAL POWER.  
NO INTENTION TO TRY TO CHANGE THE STRATEGIC BALANCE. U.S.  
SUPPORT FOR SIMLA PROCESS.

-- JOINT COMMISSION - WE WANT THIS TO BECOME A MEANING-  
FUL VEHICLE TO STRENGTHEN BILATERAL TIES.

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-- ECONOMICS - WE ARE READY TO HELP INDIA INsofar AS WE CAN, BUT OUR CAPABILITIES ARE LIMITED. STRESS SHOULD BE ON TRADE, INVESTMENT, AND CONTRIBUTIONS U.S. TECHNOLOGY

CAN MAKE. WE EXPECT TO PUT TOGETHER A SUBSTANTIAL PL 480 PACKAGE.

-- NUCLEAR - WE WANT INDIAN COOPERATION IN A NON-DISCRIMINATORY MULTILATERAL EXPORT CONTROL SYSTEM.

2. SETTING - YOUR MEETING CONCLUDES SAXBE'S MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE SESSIONS. HE WILL BE SWORN IN FEBRUARY 3 AND PLANS TO LEAVE FOR INDIA ABOUT FEBRUARY 15, RETURNING FOR THE CHAVAN VISIT MARCH 13-14. MOYNIHAN WILL BE IN TOWN NEXT WEEK AND WILL BE TALKING WITH HIM.

3. BACKGROUND/ANALYSIS - DOMESTICALLY, INDIA REMAINS TROUBLED. THE FOOD SITUATION IS BETTER IN THE SHORT-TERM BUT MASSIVE LONGER-TERM PROBLEMS CONTINUE. POLITICALLY, MRS. GANDHI IS ENTRENCHED BUT FACES INCREASING PUBLIC OPPOSITION AND A STRONG, IF AGED RIVAL, IN J. P. NARAYAN. ELECTIONS IN THE SPRING OF 1975, A YEAR AHEAD OF SCHEDULE, MAY BE CALLED IF THE WINTER CROP IS GOOD.

EXTERNALLY, RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN CONTINUE TO IMPROVE SLOWLY. SOME DIFFICULTY WITH NEPAL WHICH IRRITATED THE INDIANS BY ITS PROTEST OVER SIKKIM. RELATIONS WITH CHINA REMAIN POOR.

OUR RELATIONS HAVE CONSIDERABLY IMPROVED, BUT THE BASIS FOR THE NEW, MATURE RELATIONSHIP REMAINS TENTATIVE. GIVEN THE POTENTIAL FOR SERIOUS POLICY DIFFERENCES, AND MRS. GANDHI'S ATTITUDES, WE WILL DO WELL TO MAINTAIN THE CURRENT SATISFACTORY PLATEAU.

#### TALKING POINTS

(1) WHERE WE WISH TO GO BILATERALLY - SAXBE'S PRINCIPAL INTEREST WILL BE YOUR VIEWS ON WHAT SORT OF RELATIONSHIP HE SHOULD SEEK WITH THE INDIANS. HE HAS NO ILLUSIONS

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ABOUT MRS. GANDHI.

#### YOUR TALKING POINTS

-- WE WOULD LIKE STABLE AND REASONABLY FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH INDIA BASED ON MUTUAL BENEFIT AND RECIPROCITY.

-- WE SEE NO FUNDAMENTAL CONFLICT OF INTERESTS. WE  
ACCEPT THEIR PREEMINENCE IN SOUTH ASIA BUT EXPECT THEM  
TO SHOW RESTRAINT TOWARD THEIR NEIGHBORS.

-- WE ARE WILLING TO TREAT INDIA AS A MAJOR POWER AND

WANT A SERIOUS DIALOGUE ON MAJOR ISSUES. WE HOPE IN THIS  
PROCESS TO REDUCE THEIR TENDENCY ALMOST ROUTINELY TO  
SUPPORT RADICAL AFRO-ASIAN POSITIONS IN THIRD WORLD  
COUNCILS.

-- IN TURN, WE EXPECT UNDERSTANDING OF OUR CONCERNS;  
WE ARE NOT WILLING TO BECOME A WHIPPING BOY IN THEIR  
DOMESTIC POLITICS.

(2) SOUTH ASIA ARMS SUPPLY - SAXBE QUESTIONS HOW OUR  
INTERESTS WOULD BE SERVED BY A CHANGE IN THE ARMS POLICY.  
HE SEES REAL PROBLEMS WITH THE CONGRESS. HE WILL WANT  
YOUR GUIDANCE ON HOW TO DEAL WITH THIS ISSUE SHOULD WE  
DECIDE TO PERMIT SALES OF LETHAL WEAPONS TO PAKISTAN(AND  
INDIA).

YOUR TALKING POINTS

-- YOU STILL HAVE THIS ISSUE UNDER REVIEW.

-- DESCRIBE THE WAY IN WHICH YOU PREPARED THE WAY FOR  
A POSSIBLE POLICY CHANGE DURING YOUR TALKS IN DELHI.

-- WHATEVER DECISION IS TAKEN, OUR OVERALL SOUTH ASIA  
POLICY REMAINS UNCHANGED; WE STRONGLY SUPPORT THE SIMLA  
PROCESS; WE WILL TAKE NO ACTION TO ALTER THE STRATEGIC  
BALANCE OR FUEL AN ARMS RACE. SHIPMENTS WOULD BE ONLY  
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FOR CASH. WE DO NOT INTEND AGAIN TO BECOME, AS WE WERE  
BEFORE 1965, A MAJOR ARMS SUPPLIER TO PAKISTAN AND INDIA.

-- THE ABILITY TO GET A LIMITED AMOUNT OF U.S. ARMS  
SHOULD STRENGTHEN BHUTTO'S POSITION, MAKING IT EASIER FOR  
HIM TO STAY WITH THE SIMLA PROCESS AND LESS LIKELY THE  
GENERALS WILL RETURN TO POWER IN PAKISTAN. THIS IS IN  
INDIA'S INTEREST.

(3) JOINT COMMISSION - THE ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL SUBCOMMISSION GOT OFF TO A GOOD START LAST WEEK. THIS WEEK THE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY GROUP MEETS. THE EDUCATION/CULTURAL GROUP MEETS IN DELHI IN EARLY FEBRUARY. SAXBE WILL RETURN IN MID-MARCH FOR THE MAIN COMMISSION MEETING WHEN CHAVAN COMES.

YOUR TALKING POINTS

-- WE TAKE THE JOINT COMMISSION SERIOUSLY AND ARE DOING ALL WE CAN TO GIVE IT SUBSTANCE, ESPECIALLY IN AGRICULTURE.

-- AS A SOMETIME FARMER, SAXBE MAY HAVE USEFUL IDEAS. WE HOPE HE WILL GIVE THE COMMISSION TOP ATTENTION.

(4) ECONOMICS - SAXBE IS HARDHEADED ABOUT ECONOMIC AID WHICH HE SEES AS A LOSER ON THE HILL AND OF NO POLITICAL ADVANTAGE WITH THE INDIANS. EMBASSY DELHI NOW DOUBTS THE INDIANS WILL ASK FOR THE \$50 MILLION CONGRESS HAS O.K'D. SAXBE FAVORS FOOD AID ON HUMANITARIAN GROUNDS.

YOUR TALKING POINTS

-- WE HAVE NO INTEREST, OR INTENTION, IN RESUMING ANY LARGE SCALE AID;

-- WE HAVE OFFERED TO DISCUSS THE \$50 MILLION. IF THE INDIANS DO NOT FOLLOW UP, WE SEE NO NEED TO PRESS IT.

-- WE ARE SYMPATHETIC IN PRINCIPLE TO FURTHER DEBT RESCHEDULING, BUT HAVE PROBLEMS WITH THE TREASURY AND THE SECRET

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CONGRESS (OPTIONS PAPER BEING PREPARED ON THIS SUBJECT);

-- WE WILL DO WHAT WE CAN IN THE FOOD FIELD (TOM ENDERS TOLD SAXBE WE WILL ALLOCATE 750,000 TONS OF TITLE I IN FY 1975. COMBINED WITH OUR 250,000 TON TITLE II PROGRAM, THIS WOULD ADD UP TO A MILLION TONS.)

(5) NUCLEAR ISSUES - A NEW INDIAN TEST IS POSSIBLE AT ANY TIME ALTHOUGH WE LACK INFORMATION. WIN LORD HAS BRIEFED SAXBE ON THE NUCLEAR DIALOGUE. INGERSOLL

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## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** AMBASSADOR DESIGNATE, TOSEC 32, MEETINGS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 25 JAN 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Unique ID:** 00  
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**Enclosure:** DG ALTERED  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Page Count:** 4  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 06 OCT 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <06 OCT 2003 by KelleyW0>; APPROVED <27 OCT 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** BRIEFING MEMORANDUM: MEETING WITH AMBASSADOR- DESIGNATE SAXBE - JANUARY 27 - 3:00 P.M.  
**TAGS:** OVIP, (KISSINGER, HENRY A), (SAXBE, WILLIAM B)  
**To:** LOS ANGELES  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006